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Comment

Incorporating Empire

DANGER IN AFRICA

OF

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MR. HOPKINSON appears to have returned from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland secure in the conviction that African opposition to Federation with Southern Rhodesia is confined to a small and unrepresentative section of the population backed by a larger group of those who have been intimidated, while the rest know nothing about the subject at all-even when Mr. Hopkinson, strolling (presumably incognito) in their villages, pops them unexpected questions. We cannot share his complacency. We believe that the tension throughout East and Southern Africa is extremely dangerous, to European and African alike. In the north, the Government of Kenya proposes emergency measures to put down Mau Mau. In the Union, Dr. Malan, harassed by passive resisters, the law courts, the United Nations and—we hope—his own conscience, fights a rearguard action against liberal thought. But determination and strong measures are not enough. What Africa needs is a genuine attempt to right injustices which everybody knows to exist. 'In many spheres of life in Northern Rhodesia,' writes the Central African Post, 'there is discrimination against Africans . . . When we settlers appeal to the British Government for federation, we should present our case with clean hands.' In Kenya there are social conditions in the townships which would engender crime in any country—'I have seen a whole family living in the upturned body of what must have been a one-ton truck, propped up at the corners on stones with on side blocked up with tattered sacks. I have seen another home which consisted of the cab of a large truck and nothing else at all. Great numbers, of course, simply sleep under the eaves of shops and anywhere else where they can doss down.' That was not Mr. Brockway, but Sir Philip Mitchell. He advocated higher wages.

We do not suggest that such problems as housing or land, which are inherent in the social

revolution now taking place, can be solved overnight in Africa, any more than here. But we do suggest that no Government can handle such things alone. They need political support for any reforms, and it has to come from Africans as well as Europeans. At present, African organisation is sneered at as childish agitation. In Kenya, it is positively discouraged. What are we to think of a Government whose Native Affairs Department's report for 1951 regards it as 'unfortunate that political meetings form a large part of the amusement available at weekends' in Nairobi? What kind of amusement would the Department prefer? Nor is it helpful to ignore good deeds when they are done. In June the President of the Kenya African Union (which is dealt with in the Report in terms quite inappropriate to an official document) was reported* as addressing 4,000 Africans: 'Mr. Kenyatta and his fellow speakers called for hard work and an end to idleness and petty thieving . . . He condemned gambling and horse-racing.' Ex-Chief Koinange told them that 'Africans should work honestly for the European farmers. If they learned all they could while working on European farms, they would be able to do the same things for themselves.' That could usefully be blazoned across the country. But the Native Affairs Department hasn't heard it. 'Nowhere,' it states categorically, 'does one find an appeal to Africans to help themselves . . . by hard work and self-reliance to a newer and better standard of living.' Similarly, in Northern Rhodesia, sensible and moderate proposals are put forward from time to time by African Members of Legislative Council, by the African Representative Council and the African National Congress. In April the Government went so far as to embody some of them in a statement on Partnership. Since then, the whole discussion has been sidetracked to make way for interminable arguments about federation.

COLONIAL

^{*} East African Standard, 20.6.52.

If real grievances are not dealt with, discontent will out in a different direction. Let there be no mistake—intimidation is a disgrace to any movement and violence is inexcusable. In Kenya, African leaders have themselves condemned both. In South Africa the lawbreakers who travel first-class in European compartments or sit presumptuously on seats reserved for Europeans do not attempt violence. But all this is building up to a state of dangerous tension in which everybody's nerves are frayed. Meanwhile, as a European correspondent points out on Page 9, Governments positively endanger the position of the minorities by singling them out for special treatment.

NEARLY THERE

PRITISH Guiana's new constitution is to come Binto force in the first half of 1953. The work is already in hand of drawing up, through the medium of official enumerators, a new electoral roll based on universal adult suffrage, together with arrangements for the 60,000 illiterate people who will now for the first time become voters. The recommendations of the Constitutional Commission which were published last year have been accepted almost in their entirety, not only by the Colonial Office, but by the British Guiana Legislative Council. This means that British Guiana, in addition to having universal suffrage, will now adopt a Ministerial system-six Ministers to be elected from among the elected members of the new House of Assembly-and will introduce a bicameral legislature. A few changes in the Commission's recommendations are, however, being made, and their nature is interesting in revealing the complexity of the considerations which must be taken into account in colonial constitution-making. The Commission had recommended that the life of the Legislature should be three years; that has been extended to four. It recommended that polling booths should be open on polling day from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m.—that has been reduced to 5 p.m., partly because of 'the lack of adequate illuminations in some of the country areas.' It recommended that references to the race of any candidate should be declared an electoral offence—that has been found too difficult to embody in legislation. The only important changes are that whereas the Commission proposed that the six nominated members of the Upper House should be appointed on the basis of two for each of the provinces, the Governor is instead being given an unfettered choice as to whom he appoints; also a new procedure has been suggested for enabling the Lower House to con-

sider amendments made by the Upper House. On the whole the Commission's proposals have received an unusual degree of unanimity in welcome on the part of the people—there are, of course, dissidents-and British Guiana will start off next year with a new and advanced constitution which has the singular merit, in a Colony, of all but universal approval. It is still not 'complete self-government,' and there will be dissidents until that dream is realised, but it is so far along the road that it can only now be a matter of a few years before the goal is reached—particularly if British Guiana can see the way to solving its economic and administrative problems through linking up with a more viable Caribbean federation.

NO TO N.E.P.U.

THE Secretary of States has conveyed another of his extraordinary replies to the delegates of Northern Elements Progressive (Northern Nigeria). N.E.P.U. asked for the removal of two undemocratic features of the Northern Nigerian electoral system* before the next election. In the last election, up to 10 per cent. of the members of final electoral colleges choosing representatives to the House of Assembly might be nominated by Native Authorities; and the members might choose representatives from outside the electoral college. We know of at least one area where this system worked, because nobody tried to abuse it. In general, however, the result has been a preponderance of Nativa Authority nominees, including some who stood for election lower down and were defeated. To the suggestion that direct election with secret ballot should be substituted, the reply was given that a fair trial must be given to the present system. But what is a fair trial? How many general elections must be held on this basis before it can be 'fairly' discarded? Britain, it was said, has taken 800 years to evolve its system of elections. But does the maintenance of undemocratic machinery help Northern Nigeria to learn from Britain? It was suggested that Northern Nigerian representatives had themselves devised the present system. So they did-in a hurry, and when they were themselves inexperienced in electoral procedure, whether bad or good. Experience has now been gained: the system does not secure proper representation. There is plenty of time to alter iteven if a changed system is considered unsatisfactory, at least it would double the experience! Cannot the Northern Nigerian legislature itself initiate a thorough study of this problem?

^{*} Details were given in Venture, October 1951, Page 6.

SOCIALISTS AND THE COLONIES

By Sir Richard Acland, M.P.

IN the July issue of *Venture*, Marjorie Nicholson examined the long-term prospects for real democracy in the colonial areas and the underdeveloped countries. Her starting point was a consideration of Dick Crossman's introduction to the New Fabian Essays in which he argued that individual liberty and the real essence of democracy are not guaranteed by any particular form of political machinery; that the democratic apparatus may be used to buttress existing ruling groups or to serve the needs of small cliques of nationalists desiring to use in their self-interest the power transferred from the white man. Such evil results as these, argued Crossman, could only be avoided by the force of a strong social conscience. Can a social conscience be found or created soon enough and strong enough in what are now the under-developed countries?

This is a question worthy of serious examination. I only want to make one point. It is not the most important point, but it may be useful in correcting the thinking of some of our

pessimists.

The pessimists look at the countries where nationalist forces are driving forward to self-government, and they ask themselves doubtfully whether self-government; if quickly achieved, will be truly democratic, whether the people, if left to themselves and to their own resources, have or will have a sufficiently vigorous social conscience to safeguard the mere machinery of democracy from all the evil which ancient feudalism, modern nationalism and the managerial revolution can do to it and through it? The small point that I want to make is that it is a mistake to try to think out this question in terms of the peoples of underdeveloped countries being left to themselves and to their own resources.

In the next twenty-five or fifty years, one or other of two things is going to happen. Either the peoples of the white western industrialised democracies are going to become much more aware of their need for partnership in all its forms with the coloured peoples of the world, or they are not. Either there will be, on our part, a much greater and in many ways a much humbler effort than before to understand the ideas, the culture and the aspirations of these people, or not. Either with economic generosity carried to the point of real sacrifice in our standard of living we shall contribute to the necessary economic de-

velopment of these countries, or we shall not.

If we do not do any of these things, the whole world is going to face major disaster in one form or another in the course of this century, and it will be irrelevant to consider whether anybody will preserve individual liberty anywhere. If we do develop a many-sided partnership in the next quarter of a century, then it is unrealistic to ask whether each of the underdeveloped countries, all on its own, will find and show forth such strength social conscience as will sustain the real essence of democracy. The true question is whether this task can be performed by the developing partnership?

I believe it can; and in order to get the 'feel of what might happen if the working partnership were widely and deeply extended, it is reasonable to consider small areas where we may already

claim that it is beginning.

Consider the Gezira scheme in the Sudan. This scheme was introduced for the sake of irrigation, of food production, of increasing the material wealth of peasants formerly scratching a meagre pittance out of barren land. It has been an immense economic success. Its success would have been impossible without the cooperation of white technicians who must have been men with an outstanding resolve to understand and to serve the people of the Sudan. The economic success has in fact depended upon the development of a real co-operative democracy at the grass roots of village life. Is it unreasonable to believe that the Gezira scheme, and the social forces which it has discovered and unleashed, constitute a not inconsiderable safeguard against quite real danger of the misuse of democratic machinery?

Or consider the Gold Coast. I may be biassed in favour of the People's Educational Association and the Extra-Mural Department of the University because I gave some lectures at one of their schools earlier in the year. But I believe that the work of the Association and the Department are at this moment enormously increasing the prospects of real and permanent democracy in the Gold Coast and that they do represent, on a small scale, an effective partnership between African peoples and the best that the western democracies have to offer.

In Uganda an American citizen, George Shepperd, is helping to organise the rapidly developing farmer's co-operative society. I do not think it

unfair to suggest that the farmers of Uganda would find it difficult to sustain and expand their co-operative society against all the likely obstacles and opposition if they did not have the help of George Shepperd and others whom he is recruiting and will recruit as the enterprise develops; not to mention the active support of Fenner Brockway shrewdly pressing successive Colonial Secretaries to make the legislative and administrative changes which give co-operation in Uganda its fair chance. If the enterprise succeeds, its success will be not only economic; it will have developed creative and responsible habits of thought and patterns of behaviour which will stand, not perhaps as absolute barriers, but at least as substantial and useful barriers against the many-sided danger of

In India it is not unreasonable to suppose that genuine democracy has a far better chance if the western countries will make the real sacrifices which are necessary to carry through the Colombo projects by 1957, and the much larger development programme which will have to be based upon them for 1957-67. And here again we should think just as much of developments in tiny villages as of those on mighty rivers. Michael Young's brief account of the social experiment in

100 villages in Etawah and Gorakhpur is full of encouragement.¹ And if, under the inspiration of America's Ambassador Chester Bowles, there can be a sufficient recruitment of the right kind of technicians to expand the work until it costs £190 millions in the next six years,² then again we shall see a partnership between peoples creating simultaneously economic prosperity and a bulwark against tyranny.

The conclusion to this line of thought is perhaps a little humbling. Genuine partnership between white and coloured peoples is not a conception which we can throw indignantly at the white people in Southern Rhodesia as if we, in our superiority, know that they have not got it and do not intend it. It is also a challenge to the white people who live in Britain. If we respond positively to the challenge, democracy and individual liberty may be sustained in the world and may grow and flourish in what are now the under-developed countries; if we do not, they are very likely to perish.

¹ Fifty Million Unemployed, by Michael Young. Labour Party, Transport House, 6d. Page 11.

² See First Annual Report on Colombo Plan, H.M.S.O., Cmd. 8529, 2/6, page 21.

PARLIAMENTS AT WORK

by Ian Winterbottom, M.P.

PARLIAMENTARY government, in many variations of the form practised at Westminster, is at present being introduced into and adopted throughout the Colonial Territories where the growth of political consciousness has been greatly accelerated by a war fought in the defence of principles of paramount importance to dependent peoples. Furthermore, as a direct consequence of the war and the need for increased economic efficiency of the colonial machine, it has become obvious that the energies of the literate minority as well as the emotions of the still illiterate majority must be harnessed to a modern form of government.

The declared aim of British colonial policy has always been the achievement of self-government in the dependent territories, and with this goal in mind a good deal of educating has unobtrusively been carried on for many years; but while, since the war, constitution-making has been going on apace and stages of development which, in this country, have required centuries for their completion, are compressed into a decade, the obstacles to self-government are also increasingly becoming apparent, as is the need for assistance drawn from the accumulated experience of the British parent-organisation.

With the exception of Ceylon, where a highly educated middle-class was able to take upon itself

the functions of citizenship that are the prerequisite of successful parliamentary government, the colonial dependencies are handicapped in their achievement of self-government by wide-spread illiteracy and great poverty, as well as by tribal, racial and religious differences. These differences are hard to bridge: yet, unless a sense of national unity can be created in the average citizen, majority rule with its dependence on political compromise will not be practicable. The human qualities that may enable the parliamentary machine to work in the absence of an over-riding sense of national coherence-tolerance, respect for the rights of minorities, and methodmust be allowed to develop gradually; if, therefore, we wish the young colonial legislatures to mature successfully, we must be willing to render what help we can in the technical business of running in their new machines.

Parliamentary business is governed in this country by a written procedure defined in Standing Orders and by a body of case law and convention recorded at immense length in Erskine May. Procedure ensures the efficient conduct of business and yet, by providing each day suitable opportunities for the raising of matters of urgent public importance and for the airing of grievances, manages to keep the business of government flexible. The rules of debate, which may at first sight seem to be nothing more than a residue from the past, are retained because they prevent discussion from degenerating into a bad-tempered and abusive babble. In all matters of procedure, Mr. Speaker is the ultimate arbiter; in this work he, as well as the whole House, is assisted by a body of constitutional lawyers headed by the Clerk of the House, who has as his deputies the Clerk Assistant and the Second Clerk Assistant.

It is to the Clerk of the House and to the department that he controls that the various colonial legislatures have turned for advice and help, when feeling their way to their own procedure and while creating their own precidents; for reasons of administrative convenience and also, presumably, because of the accident of his personality, the major portion of this work has been delegated to the able Clerk Assistant, Mr. E. A. Fellowes. He is at present engaged on revising the Model Standing Orders for colonial legislatures and has himself written the Standing Orders of the legislatures of Jamaica, Ceylon, Trinidad and Nigeria; in addition, he has advised the legislatures of the Sudan and of the Gold Coast and last year, and again this year, while in Nigeria, has acted as President of the House of Representatives, performing the duties and functions of Mr. Speaker.

These holiday activities of his, performed during the recess, can hardly be regarded as recreation. A report from Lagos appearing in *The Times* of August 21st and headed 'Crisis Avoided in Nigeria' shows him calmly seated at the centre of a Parliamentary whirlwind. The incident is worth quoting, since it demonstrates British procedure being used to ventilate a real constitutional grievance, with the Government of the day showing willingness to study a minority point of view and acting to find a com-

promise solution:-

When the House of Representatives met this week, Mr. Mbadiwe Mazi rose to ask a private notice question why his motion urging the separation of Lagos from the western region did not appear on the order paper. Mr. Fellowes, the president of the House, gave the reply, which he had already conveyed to Mr. Mbadiwe in writing, that the House was not competent to discuss the motion, as power to amend the constitutional instrument was reserved to the Queen. He made it clear that this ruling was entirely his own and was made without consultation with the Government, although he had informed the Government of his decision after first notifying the mover. When Mr. Mbadiwe Mazi expressed dissatisfaction, the president said that the only course open was for someone to propose a motion that his ruling be rescinded. He was prepared to give special leave for such a motion. A motion to that effect was then moved by Mr. J. A. Wachuku, of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, and will be debated later.

The Government in its reply stated that it recognised the problems created by the fusion of the capital city, Lagos, with the western region, and had decided to seek expert opinion on the financial and administrative arrangements in other capitals, especially in federal countries, and would give con-

sideration to such opinion within the framework of the constitution.

The constitutional crisis which has arisen in Nigeria does seem, from the reports, to have been approached in the best tradition of British parliamentary democracy, but the problems of working the new legislatures appear to have been foreseen in part only, and the solutions attempted have been of the ad hoc nature described. The Table Office has been burdened with work that it was not designed to carry and if, for personal or technical reasons, it were forced to cease giving its help, there would be nothing left to take its place. This risk has been noted by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, which has inspired two courses of action designed to extend the knowledge of our procedure and to strengthen the Table Office: firstly, to run a course in Parliamentary procedure for members of Commonwealth legislatures, and secondly to press for the appointment of a Third Clerk Assistant to enable one of the Clerks to specialise in the work

of these developing legislatures.

The course in parliamentary procedure, which was organised and financed for the first time this summer by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, was attended by twelve guests from the Legislative Councils of the Gold Coast, Mauritius, Jamaica, Barbados and Nigeria, and eleven others who happened to be in London at the time, visiting or working at Westminster. The latter included the Clerk of the South African Senate, the Clerks of the legislatures of Grenada, Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Hong Kong, and the Clerk Assistant of the Australian Federal Government who was at that time working at the Table Office of the House of Commons. Among those who attended the course were parliamentarians from Malaya, New Guinea, Fiji, Hong Kong, Saint Lucia and Ceylon. The course lasted three weeks, was addressed by every official of the House and by some expert British parliamentarians, and its members were worked at high pressure; but the rigours of their studies were tempered by much social activity and a visit to the Parliament of Northern Ireland. The course is to be repeated next year: that it was a success has been proved by the requests for places in future courses that are already being received by the Association.

The second aim of the Association, although not yet realised, may well be achieved in the not too distant future. At this year's Annual General Meeting it was proposed that the Table Office should be strengthened by the appointment of a Third Clerk Assistant; this would enable the Table to attend to the work at Westminster with its full complement, while having a fourth member who would specialise in the work of the young colonial legislatures, and who would be available to them should they wish to call in his services. This proposal was put to the Minister of State for the Colonies during an adjournment debate and received his full support. To be carried into effect it must

(Continued on Page 12)

RETAIL CO-OPERATIVES IN MALAYA

Early in 1951 the Government of Malaya decided to sponsor the rapid expansion of co-operative shops in an effort to combat the steep rise in the cost of living. An account of 'The Expansion and Progress of the Co-operative Consumers' Movement Since 1951' is contained in a Paper (No. 46 of 1952) laid before the Federal Legislative Council.

By May 1952, the trade of the Malayan Co-operative Wholesale Society, which had been established in 1948, had increased 'beyond all

expectations,' as shown below:

		Sales	Purchases
		\$	\$
1951.	January	 47,372	57,236
	May	 147,882	239,163
1952.	January	 314,049	257,167
	May	 425,075	337,473

There has also been a substantial increase in the number of co-operative shops. At May 31, 1952, there were 187 shops under formation, with 222 already registered, of which 48 were not yet operating. Originally it had been expected that shops would be opened in urban centres, but the demand outside the towns has proved to be greater. Of the 222 registered shops, there are 67 urban, 67 rural and 88 on estates and mines. In the resettlement camps many shops were established with assistance from Government, and these will be converted into co-operative shops now that the necessary Chinese officers have been recruited. At present there are only three co-operative shops in the new villages. In the towns and on estates and mines the membership is Chinese, Indian and Malay, but in the rural areas it is almost entirely Malay.

It is the view of the Government that the shops have 'undoubtedly help to restrain' the rise in the cost of living where it was locally aggravated by internal inflation and profiteering. The Paper gives

several typical examples, including:

(1) In one town a certain popular tinned product was sold by the newly-opened co-operative store at 90 cents. It was at that time sold by the leading shops in the town at \$1.05 per tin. The private shops reduced to 85 cents. For a short time the co-operative store ran out of stock of this article. The private shops at once increased to \$1.10 per tin until such time as the co-operative store was able to renew its stock . .

(4) The Malayan Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd. has been successful in a few cases in bringing in goods at lower prices than were prevalent in Malaya. A few months ago tapping hones of a certain make were being sold to estate labourers at \$6 each. The Malayan Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd. were able to sell them wholesale at \$7 a dozen to co-operative shops. Good quality shirts have recently been imported at \$4.75 each as against \$8 for a similar article outside. Children's shoes were made available at \$9 which was \$3 or \$4 cheaper than similar quality articles in most shops.

Public support for the movement has been 'sustained and widespread,' and the Government hopes that it will weather the difficulties which are bound to be encountered in the present period of falling rubber

The Federation Government spent in 1951 less than a quarter of the sum voted for the movement by Legislative Council. Up to the end of May 1952, \$306,997 had been spent on shops, the principal items being for a building fund, salaries for experienced assistants to work temporarily in shops, and the stocking of shops. One cause of under-spending was the failure to recruit an experienced General Manager for the Co-operative Wholesale Society from co-operative movements overseas. No appointment was made until November 1951, when an experienced senior executive was appointed from one of the leading commercial firms in Malaya. The major reason for underspending, however, was that retail societies were able to obtain credit from the Wholesale Society, whose bank overdraft was

guaranteed up to \$1 m. by Government.

Other expenditure is incurred by Government in normal expenditure on the Co-operative Department, some of which is used for the supervision of shops. Co-operative Department officials where possible attend meetings of societies, but all management committees are made up of voluntary workers. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies has a statutory duty to audit the accounts of all societies once a year, and it is hoped that with the increase of audit staff planned for 1953 it will ultimately be possible to audit monthly in accordance with commercial accounting practice. Except for the salaries of Government officers employed in supervising the movement and the salary for 3 years of the General Manager of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, the Government expects societies to repay advances to them, which are made free of interest. Under the provisions of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance, management committees must apportion part of their profits to a reserve for repayment of Government loans and advances. The extension of credit to shops by the Wholesale Society is also regulated, in view of the large sum of Government money involved. Retail societies are charged 1½ per cent. per month interest on all debit balances outstanding for more than 2 months and no further credit is extended by the Wholesale Society after 3 months.

The Wholesale Society itself is also indirectly controlled-one member of the Board of Directors must be an officer of the Co-operative Development De-

partment, and the Government appoints the General Manager so long as any part of its funds are derived from Government. At present, the weakness in the Wholesale Society's position is its small share capital-\$12,312 subscribed by 40 Societies. 'For the Society to try to build up its capital out of profits would defeat its avowed purpose of giving the public, through the retail societies, the best quality goods at the lowest economic price.' The Government must therefore continue its commitment, if the movement is to continue. The Malayan Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd. was started in November 1948 with a capital of \$3,200 subscribed by 5 retail societies. Owing to the Government assistance which it is now receiving, the difficulty of obtaining supplies which has inhibited the development of retail co-operatives in some Colonies is not being experienced in Malaya. When the new shops were being started, the F.M.S. Chamber of Commerce was approached to secure the support of the principal importing firms. The M.C.W.S. now has an informal agreement with the F.M.S. Chamber of Commerce by which the M.C.W.S. agrees to obtain branded and agency goods from authorised agents appointed in Malaya by the manufacturers, but it is free to import unbranded goods on its own account if these are offered to it on favourable terms. The F.M.S. Chamber of Commerce agreed to recommend that its members should treat the Society as a fully recognised wholesaler in the normal course of trade and should concede to it normal trade discounts and rebates. 'This arrangement,' says the Paper, 'has worked extremely well.'

PROGRESS IN THE WEST INDIES?

In June, a survey of the British Dependencies in the Caribbean and North Atlantic, 1939-1952¹ was presented to Parliament. This summarises the developments in these Colonies in the political, constitutional, economic and social fields since 1939. One regrets the essential dullness of the document, for this regional survey might well have conveyed a sense of perspective, especially as it sets out from the problems raised in the West India Royal Commission Report.² Having read it, one is still in doubt how far the West Indies have progressed in overcoming the difficulties which the Report revealed.

Most positive is this: 'Universal adult suffrage has either been attained or nearly approached in all the Caribbean Colonies. Elective majorities in the legislatures are the rule. The elected element is increasingly strongly representd in the Executive itself. Ministerial systems are taking shape. The advance is clear from representative to responsible government: the traditional gulf between Legislature and Executive is being bridged.'

In public health, too, one victory at least is re-

1 Cmd. 8575, H.M. Stationery Office, 3s. 6d.

² Cmd. 6607.

corded. 'Malaria has ceased to be the most important endemic disease in many of the territories.' For example, 'over 90 per cent. of the population of British Guiana is protected from malaria. . . . The effect of this work is strikingly reflected in vital statistics. The death rate was 25.8 per 1,000 in 1938; in 1946 it was 15.4. The birth rate rose from 35 per 1,000 in 1946 to 40 per 1,000 in 1950. Infant mortality rates have fallen impressively.'

It is pointed out, however, that 'these measures by solving one problem have intensified another—the rapid increase in population.' Again and again does this regional survey come back to the population problem. The West Indies, like Britain, are troubled by an adverse balance of trade, and a deficit with the dollar area. 'The territories . . . still run substantial deficits on current account and have a long way to go before achieving complete economic viability. Both agriculture and industry must, therefore, be greatly strengthened . . . to provide not only a living for . . . ever increasing populations, but also further improvements in . . . social conditions.'

Social and economic advance are intimately related. The Royal Commission had laid 'general emphasis . . . on welfare rather than on development.' But 'in recent years, it has been increasingly recognised that the maintenance of these improved social services calls for intensive and sustained efforts to promote economic development.' Despite any such change in emphasis, 'In British Guiana . . . in 1951, 28.5 per cent. of the Colony's expenditure was on social services as compared with 10.1 per cent. on economic development.' Consideration of individual social needs only accentuates the dilemma. For example, 'in the Caribbean group, the population of children aged from 5 to 14 was 655,800 in 1946 and 734,900 in 1951 . . . Against these figures total school enrolments . . . rose from 419,500 in 1938-9 to 565,000 in 1949-50, an increase of about 35 per cent.' In some Colonies, 'over 80 per cent. of the total provision for education has had to be spent on salaries, leaving little for equipment and maintenance.' Or to take housing, 'if the existing houses are to be rebuilt or repaired and the additional population housed during the next 20 years, at least 40,000 houses will be required annually at a cost of

Has there been progress? A rising population constantly threatens any improvements made, and it is essential that the pace of economic advance should outstep the rate of population growth. Greater security is today enjoyed by West Indian primary producers as compared with the pre-war days. The 1951 Sugar Agreement secured them a guaranteed market for a large part of their product until 1959. In addition attempts are being made to encourage new industries; in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados, entrepreneurs have been offered income tax and import duty exemptions over a period of years. These are some of the more hopeful facts included in this survey.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Chinese Impact on Malaya

Sir,—It was fortunate that Dr. Victor Purcell could give your recent South-East Asia Conference the benefit of his specialised knowledge of the Chinese in South-East Asia in general and in Malaya in particular. But the condensation of his speech which you publish in the July Venture calls for considerable comment. By themselves some of the statements attributed to him may give your readers the impression that the administration has always given, and is still giving, undue benefits to a comparatively small number of Malays at the expense of the Chinese who are largely ignored or misunderstood.

At a time when strenuous efforts are being made to encourage the growth of a self-governing Malayan nation composed of people of many races but having a common lovalty, it may do a great deal of harm to the democratic cause to publicise partisan points of view without any indication that there is at least one other side to the picture. It is not my intention to provoke the Malays into presenting a narrow point of view of a very complicated situation, but I do not think that anyone with any knowledge of the economic history of Malaya could deny that some special privileges given to Malays were necessary to prevent the disappearance of a Malay peasantry. If more of this kind of thing could have been done in Palestine the war there and the subsequent terrible refugee problem might have been avoided.

In Malaya the danger that a Palestian situation may develop still exists. It can be avoided only by a great deal of give and take. Federal citizenship requirements are being modified to suit the majority of the Chinese who were born in Malaya or who have been there for several years, but we must face the fact that thousands of the more recent immigrants are a potential or actual menace. The situation is improving, but much more will soon be heard about Chinese grievances and the new legislation aimed at alleviating them. We shall then need to sift the facts very carefully before we form hasty judgments about the best way to serve the conflicting interests of the Malay peasants and the Chinese.

Yours faithfully, Malayan (NOT Malay).

Racial Grouping

Sir,—In East Africa we have fanatic racial grouping which ought to be stopped. You read in local papers every day that a European has done this, an African has been sent to gaol, and an Indian merchant has been fined for defrauding his customers. And so this stressing of racial differences goes on and on. It even goes on in our legislation, and I am sure that the sooner it is stopped the further away racial animosity will recede. I know people will always bite and fight because certain natures are made that way, but for goodness sake let them do it as mere individuals and not as racial groups.

Yours faithfully, East African.

Central African Federation

Sir,—Mr. Attlee, during his visit to Northern Rhodesia, is reported to have told several questioners that the Labour Party 'favours federation.' That statement was presumably made with the knowledge and approval of the National Executive of the Labour Party. It is to be hoped that in the minds of Mr. Attlee's hearers, both African and European, 'favouring federation' was not taken to mean either 'favouring the federation proposals in Cmd. 8573' or 'favouring the imposition of federation regardless of African opposition.'

Nevertheless, I should like to ask how far those members of all parties who say they favour federation in principle will be able to dissociate themselves from responsibility for the unpleasant consequences if the Government decides to override African opposition to federation, as they show every sign

of intending to do.

Yours faithfully,

John H. Lodge.

Hassocks, Sussex.

Dear Sir,-The British Government seems to have decided to force federation on Central Africa. I note that Lord Salisbury and Sir Godfrey Huggins both use the same phrase: that a Federation is necessary in order to maintain 'the British way of life.' But the Southern Rhodesian way of life is not like the British. In the bad old days when the British working man was working long hours for a pittance, when the landlords and factory owners were all powerful, then a parallel could have been drawn with present Rhodesian conditions, but not now. Just as in the past the British worker was held to be an inferior form of life who would put coals in the bath if a decent house were given to him, so in Southern Africa is the African held to be inferior. Rhodesians do not happen to be similar to people in Britain, who are not now placed in the very corrupting situation of having excessive power over their fellow men placed in their hands.

Sir Godfrey Huggins states that there is no evidence yet that 'more than a few' Africans will rise to European standards. Yet surely he must know the high standards to which our West Africans (who are the only Africans who have been given a real chance) have risen? I am told by white Southern Africans that the West Africans are much finer people than those in Southern Africa. I disagree profoundly. In Southern Rhodesia, there is excellent material, particularly amongst the Matabele, and given the same opportunity, they would soon do as well as West Africans.

An attempt to create an anti-African state round Southern Rhodesia must alienate our African fellow-subjects. A really progressive policy might well result in a real partnership between European and African, but in the end this altogether dishonest new state will mean the expulsion of the European from that part of Africa. It may well lose us all British West Africa too.

Yours faithfully,

J. L. Stewart.

Pretoria, South Africa.

COLONIAL OPINION ...

Employers and Trade Unions

Complaints are still being heard that a small section of employers in the Federation are obstructing the development of trade unionism among their employees. It is surprising, not merely because these employers are ignoring the clear official lead that has been given in London and Kuala Lumpur, but because it seems likely in the long run to react unfavourably upon themselves. It shows a foolish obstinacy towards the inevitable march of events. Encouraged by the British and Malayan Governments, as a means of promoting the best possible employer-employee relations, the organisation of labour has proceeded steadily and with commendable smoothness since the start of the trade union movement here six years ago. Most employers are now convinced of the value of trade unionism in bringing about and maintaining friendly industrial relations. It is the foolish few who ignore the fact and seek to oppose and delay an inevitable process.

The complaint has most recently been made at the Malayan Plantation Workers' Union conference in Kuala Lumpur; it is particularly unfortunate that this should be so, for the plantation industry, more than any other, can provide a most useful demonstration to workers and employers in other industries, or trade unionism in action and of good relations between employer and employed. Homilies upon the subject of industrial relations tend to be addressed in the main to employees; there seems room for common sense to come into play among what it is hoped and believed is only a very small section of

employers.

Straits Times, Singapore, July 24, 1952.

Real Grievances

The following extracts are taken from a report of a speech in the Kenya Legislative Council by the Hon. Eliud Mathu, Member of Executive Council. The Legislative Council was discussing Mau Mau.

He dissociated himself from those who would disrupt the State; but why had they those intentions? Africans had real grievances which the Government had failed to meet. There was the land shortage, about which he had asked for a Royal Commission, but it had not been considered to be warranted . . .

For eight years he had raised the matter of roads in the reserves, but there was not a proper road in the African areas. He had suggested that Government should create high positions in the public services

for Africans, but they had done nothing.

As to the political aspect, he recalled a motion proposed by Mr. S. V. Cooke, in connection with the restoration of confidence of Africans in the administration. He had seconded that motion, and had pointed out that exacted obedience was a negative thing, in which there was neither place nor

opportunity for dissent and opposition; only a choice between acquiescence or agitation, subservience or sedition.

He had often suggested that as soon as the war was over all political prisoners should be released, and that such political bodies as the Kikuyu Central Association should be permitted to conduct their meetings in the open. He had warned the Governor that if this were not done there would be trouble, though perhaps not precisely the trouble that existed today. He had not opposed the proscription of Mau Mau or any of the other sects which had come under the ban since. He stood for open criticism of Government policies.

Something had been done in housing, particularly in urban areas, but there were still 10,000 Africans homeless in Nairobi. Africans in towns could not

live without anxiety on 50s. per month.

East Africa and Rhodesia, August 28, 1952.

Hands Off Please

The detention of the Leader of the House of Assembly by the United States authorities follows a pattern of conduct towards West Indian leaders that has become all too familiar and is extremely insulting to the West Indies. Within the course of one year, three prominent West Indian leaders have been subjected to reprehensible treatmnt at the hands of the United States immigration authorities. Sometime last year, Mr. Manley was detained at Ellis Island, then Mr. Bustamante was treated in almost similar fashion in Puerto Rico and now Mr. Adams has fallen foul of the authorities. There seems to be something sinister in all of this, and it is time that something more than the making of mere protests and apologies be done about it...

We must remind the United States that we are not yet her property. It is a fact that many coloured West Indians in that country retain their British citizenship because, like the Roman citizen in ancient times whose protest Civis Romanus sum could be relied upon to earn him protection, their claim to be British also gains them protection. America's hatred of communism has led to failure to understand the nature of the challenge and threat to Western society of communism. So instead of being wise and level-headed, she has found an answer only in brute force, arms and dollars. Where there should have been a strengthening of the sinews of democracy and of the weapons of truth and decency, there was substituted all the ugly features of MacCarthyism; fascist-like witch-hunting and downright oppression.

... West Indian peoples and leaders must take concerted action now and demand from the U.S. Authorities that they take steps to have any West Indian representative or leader treated in a dignified and proper manner when on U.S. soil.

The Beacon, Barbados, July 5, 1952.

Parliament

Labour Advisers in the Colonial Empire. Mr. Hector Hughes asked the Secretary of State whether, in view of the success of the system of official labour and trade union advisers to the Governments of African British Colonies, we would extend this system to other Colonies in the British Empire; and if he would make a statement of his future plans in this matter. Mr. Lyttelton replied that in all but the smallest non-African territories there were already Labour Departments staffed with officers of suitable training and experience able to advise Governments on labour and trade union matters. The provision of such advice to Governments was a permanent feature of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. (July 16.)

Co-operative Societies of the Pacific Islands. Mr. Frank Beswick asked how many registered cooperative societies there were in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and in Fiji respectively; and what was the total membership and the total population in each case. Mr. Lyttelton replied that in 1950 there were in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony 27 registered societies with 12,575 members and in Fiji 27 registered societies with a membership of about 1,600. The populations of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and Fiji had been estimated in 1950 to be 36,755 and 293,764, respectively. In reply to a supplementary question by Mr. Beswick as to the cause of the discrepancy between the development in Fiji and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Mr. Lyttelton said that the conditions were entirely different and that he had a good deal of information which showed that the nature of the Fijian life did not adapt itself so readily to the co-operative idea as had been the case in the other islands. (July 16.)

Mr. Beswick asked in what circumstances the recently constituted Loans Board for Fiji could advance loans to co-operative societies; and what special steps were being taken to encourage the peasants to take advantage of these loans. In reply, Mr. Lyttelton said that the Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board of Fiji had been constituted on May 12, 1952, by the Africultural and Industrial Loans Board Ordinance 1951. The Board was authorised to make loans for certain specified purposes. It appeared that under the Ordinance the Board could, within its discretion, make loans to co-operative societies. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies would bring to the notice of co-operative societies the loan facilities offered by the Board. (July 16.)

Age Limit of the Death Sentence in the Colonial Empire. Mr. Wyatt asked the Secretary of State whether he would initiate action to make the age limit for the death sentence in Singapore 17 years to bring it in line with the age limit for the death

sentence in the Federation of Malaya; and whether he would further initiate action to see that the age was caluculated up to the date of the offence committed and not up to the date of the trial. Mr. Lyttelton said that this matter was already under consideration. He also proposed to suggest to the Governments of all colonial territories that the age limit where it was not already 18 should be raised to that age, as in the U.K. (July 16.)

Resettlement of Africans in Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Rankin asked the Secretary of State whether he was aware that the Government of Southern Rhodesia proposed to remove 113,000 Africans from Crown land and alienated land in the European area; and whether, in the light of this, he would reconsider his policy of federating Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Lyttelton replied that the programme of the Southern Rhodesian Government was a matter for the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. In any case, since land and land settlement remained the responsibility of the territorial Governments, under the Draft Federal Scheme, he could see no connection between this and the second part of the Question, to which the answer was 'No.' In reply to a similar question by Mr. Sorensen to the Under-Secretary of Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Foster said that the re-settlement concerned Africans occupying Crown land and Alienated Land in contravention of the Land Apportionment (Amendment) Act, 1950. When assent had been given in 1950 to this Act—which had been designed to give to those Africans a security of tenure which they did not at present enjoy-the Commonwealth Relations Office was informed that the provision which had been made therein for the re-assignment of $3\frac{3}{4}$ million acres of land was for the resttlement of these and other Africans. A further 367,500 acres had since been set aside and the assignment of a further 118,300 was under consideration. The pace at which the resettlement could proceed was a matter for the Government of Southern Rhodesia, and was regulated by the speed with which water supplies, health services, schools, roads and bridges, etc., could be provided on the new land. It was expected that all the Africans would be moved by the end of 1955. (July 30.)

Wages Councils in Singapore and Malaya. Mr. Awbery asked what progress had been made in the setting up of Wages Councils in Singapore and Malaya; and in what industries they would be established. Mr. Hopkinson replied that the Government of the Federation of Malaya had not yet introduced a statutory wages council for any industry. In Singapore the Wages Councils Bill had passed its second reading and was now before a Select Committee. (July 31.)

Guide to Books

The Legislative Council of Trinidad and Tobago.

By Hewan Craig. (Faber and Faber. 25s.)

In the penultimate volume of the series Studies in Colonial Legislatures (Edited by Miss Margery Perham) Mr. Hewan Craig of Trinidad has skilfully told the story of the Legislative Council of his native island. Trinidad is the first West Indian colony to be studied in the series, and it differs in many respects from its neighbours. After its capture from Spain in 1797, it did not try the elaborate bicameralism of the Old Representative System, and Mr. Craig therefore can show a steady progress from the all-nominated Council (1831-1925), through a body having an official majority with elected members (1925-40) and one with an unofficial majority (1940-50), to the present Council in which elected members are in a clear majority.

After the introduction of elected members in 1925, Trinidad politics remained relatively sedate. Capt. A. A. Cipriani, Socialist founder of the Trinidad Labour Party, led a one-man fight for progressive legislation, but in 1937 he was pushed aside by a new leader, the demagogic Uriah Butler. Since that time parties have come and gone, but none has ever been able to capture the public imagination or to function successfully in the legislature. The present Council is a hodgepodge of men who were elected as independents, and others who have shed or changed their party

labels.

Mr. Craig devotes the bulk of his book to the period 1925-40 when the Council still had an official majority, and provides an excellent analysis of the way in which the Council functioned. He discusses in details Cipriani's activities as spokesman for 'the bare-footed man' and as anti-Government gadfly, and two crucial 'issues of government,' the passage of the Divorce Bill (1931), and the riots of 1937. Since 1940 constitutional progress has been rapid. official bloc was reduced from 11 to 3 and elected representation increased from 7 to 9 (1940), adult suffrage was introduced and women made eligible for membership of the legislature (1945), and finally an elected majority was introduced to both Executive and Legislative Councils, and ministerial responsibilities were given to the elected members of the Executive Council (1950). A large Commission of local figures, headed by a distinguished nominated M.L.C., Sir Lennox O'Reilly, drew up the 1950 constitution, subject to some revision by the Colonial Office. They chose to retain the unicameral mixed Legislative Council. Ministers are chosen by the Legislative Council in a secret ballot, but are assigned their portfolios by the Governor. In the absence of a party system, the pattern has been for official and nominated members (8 in all) to support the 5 ministers in a 'Government Bloc

while the remaining 13 elected members, a mixture of Butlerites, moderates and Labour Party members,

form an unstable opposition.

Like its neighbour British Guiana, Trinidad has a large East Indian minority, which will eventually become a majority. Indians are playing an increasingly greater part in the political life of the island, but racial tensions are much less than in British Guiana, and seem well on their way to disappearing. Indeed, the one criticism that may be made of Mr. Craig's admirable study is that he sometimes exaggerates the importance of racial divisions in political matters. Racial voting up to now is to be explained by the absence of true political parties rather than by the tendencies of the Colony towards a plural society.

Colin Hughes.

Africa Steps Out

By Ronald K. Orchard. (Edinburgh House Press. 3/6, post free 3/9.)

Mr. Orchard has admirably compressed his longranging view of the major challenges to the Church

in Africa south of the Sahara.

He begins with Africa as a source of food and labour, though glossing over how much both are organised to the benefit of the West, and moves to its passionate desire for education and political freedom with the resultant confusion of soul and loss of the sense of community. His antithesis 'Knowledge or Wisdom' aptly sums up the dilemma of African education, the solution of which he rightly relates to the necessity of the school being part of the larger community of the Church. He does not, however, emphasise enough the danger of the Church excluding other agencies from education so that she smothers it while intending to mother it.

'In the old days the young men held the spears' is a typically vivid African comment on indirect rule. Mr. Orchard shows how good a democratic training the management of Church affairs is, but he fails to press Christians to redeem the bad name of politics by expressing their faith in political as well as com-

munity life.

On the racial question he treats only of the Church's indirect influence, without warning her against the patronising attitude arising not only from 'identification with a dominant culture' but from association

with an alien government.

Mr. Orchard in fact tends to be too kind for these times. The Church needs not so much a reassuring survey as a stabbing challenge. The blade must go deep, even to our economic system, which brings so much evil in its train in Africa. Only when the Church speaks out on the economic system, instead of being satisfied with welfare in the mining compounds, will she exercise an influence at once historic and decisive.

W. H. Macartney.

The Early History of Indians in Natal

By C. J. Ferguson-Davie (South African Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg. 1951. 1s. 6d.)

The South African storm centre has temporarily shifted from Durban to Cape Town. Meanwhile the Natal liberals are continuing their good work of public enlightenment. The recent study by a former Bishop of Singapore tells with an admirable economy of words and emotion how the settlers' lobby managed to coax the Imperial Government in London and the Government of India into permitting the importation of indentured 'coolies.' The descendants of these groups are now crying for their expulsion from Natal.

None of the facts contained in this compressed but highly readable booklet are new, but they are not otherwise easily accessible. There are only two criticisms which one might venture. It would be

Continued from Page 5

go before an ancient body known as the 'Commissioners for Regulating the Offices of the House of Commons' whose members are the various Secretaries of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Law Officers, and whose chairman is Mr. Speaker. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has referred the proposal to the Commissioners; it is to be hoped that the comparatively trifling sum for the new Clerk Assistant's salary will be found.

the new Clerk Assistant's salary will be found.

It would be wrong to impose British procedure down to the last clause and convention on the new legislatures, a fact which was clearly recognised in the first course on procedure held this summer. Since, however, the model of all Commonwealth Parliaments is the British, we have a responsibility to help the developing legislatures in their beginnings. The institutions that are of value to them, they will retain and adapt to their own needs; if the experiment succeeds, however, we must be prepared to see them evolve along their own lines until they have created a form of government specifically suited to their own society.

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER

For Reference		October,			1952	
Comment—						
Danger in Africa	25	-	-	-	1	
Nearly There	-	-	-	-	2	
No to N.E.P.U	**	-	-	-	2	
Socialists and the Colonies						
by Sir Richard Acland, M.P.	-	-	-	-	3	
Parliaments at Work						
by Ian Winterbottom, M.P.	-	-	-	-	4	
Fact—						
Retail Co-operatives in Malay	-	-	-	-	6	
Progress in the West Indies?	_	_	_	-	7	
Correspondence	-	-	-	. 1	8	
Colonial Opinion	-	-	-	_	9	
Parliament	-	-	-	-	10	
Guide to Books	-	-	-	_	11	
Arthur Shearly Cripps	-	-	-	-	12	

fair to mention the minority who opposed Indian immigration and the study might have been given a more attractive form. The Institute of Race Relations can do better than clothe its studies in drab grey, a cover which looks like an off-print.

Leo Silberman.

ARTHUR SHEARLY CRIPPS

Many of our readers will already have read with regret of the death of the Rev. Arthur Shearly Cripps at Enkeldoorn, Southern Rhodesia. To the many expressions of sorrow that have been evoked, the Bureau must add its own. Arthur Shearly Cripps was a missionary who devoted nearly the whole of his adult life to the people of Africa, teaching Christianity by his personal example. For him, this meant working for his people in the widest possible sense. Month after month there came into our office the letters in which he urged that action should be taken to protect the Africans against discriminatory legislation, and, in the last two years, against the proposed Central African federation. Always came accompanied by newspaper clippings, punctually cut and dated, to make sure that we had correct and up-to-date information. Always they were written by his African writer-for he was blind-with a little pencil signature which grew steadily smaller as the years went by. He took comfort from the knowledge that there were many in this country who sympathised with African aspira-tions—'Thank God for those great men Arthur Creech Jones and James Griffiths! ' he wrote in one of his last letters. Above all, he put his faith in the protection of the Crown, and expressed it frequently in the poems for which he was well-known. We have all lost a great friend and a great teacher.

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